For brevity's sake it must suffice to say here that, apart from the obvious effects of World War II, the Maltese economy during the last 50 years has developed along more or less uniform general lines. Trade statistics began to be compiled properly in 1909-10. By 1918, visible exports paid for only 10 per cent. of all imports while by 1956 this proportion had dropped to 5 per cent. For our present purpose the most recent specifically economic Report utilising normally unpublished source material, that of Balogh and Seers (13), may be used as a basis for discussion. Statistics for the year 1953-54 contained therein and in the original source material are here re-assembled and re-arranged in the same combinations used in Chapter V A, i.e. Negotiable Income or External Economic Balance, Internal Revenue and National Product. By no means all the facts are available and some of the elements in the computation are open to question, but this particular presentation has been adopted to bring out significant points of direct relevance to our work.

The first element, that of External Balance may be presented in tabular form thus:-

Table 31. External economic balance, 1954.

A. Negotiable Income - originating externally.		
(i) Services pay	£6.5	millions
(of which dockyard)	(3.6	")
(ii) Direct expenditure by Services	2.2	"
(iii) Estimated spending by non-Maltese Service personnel	6.0	"
	£14.7	"
(iv) Imperial Grants	3.0	"
	£17.7	"
B. Negotiable Income - originating internally.		
(i) Merchandise exports	£1.5	millions
(ii) Invisible exports	2.9	"
	£4.4	"
C. Negotiable Income - Grand Total	£22.1	millions
D. Expenditure on Imports.		
(i) Merchandise imports	£18.6	millions
(ii) Invisible imports	1.9	"
	£20.5	"

The most obvious characteristic of Malta's economy in its external relationship is its amazing dependence for Negotiable Income, i.e. convertible wealth available for paying for imports, on factors outside domestic control.

In detail various significant points emerge. While part of this income resulted from the provision of industrial and labour services - A (i) and (ii), about 40 per cent. came through retail and domestic services to the Garrison - A (iii). Statistically, this is an item impossible to measure precisely, and in so far as it is a residual item a further question arises, to wit, how far may it be an over-estimate concealing an unrecorded inflow of foreign wealth through hidden channels to the civil population. In Sierra Leone, periodic upsurges of

434 unrequited imports were indicative of illegal diamond smuggling. It may well be that, in Malta, a less spectacular movement of capital is similarly responsible for part of the residual items of foreign income. Even so, and considered in a later examination of Internal Revenue and National Product, the implications of a national reliance on this and other elements of income are manifestly significant.

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439 If we turn to a consideration of the merchandise in trade, the instability of the situation becomes even more strikingly obvious. An analysis of trade of the Maltese Islands in 1953 (13), the year in which economic conditions for 1954 would be established, shows the following salient points. Britain and the Commonwealth supplied half of Malta's imports thus leaving some £10,000,000 of the remainder to be covered by British credit with other countries. Of the domestically originating exports of three-quarters of a million pounds, only £266,000 went to non-protected markets outside the Commonwealth. These and other details suggest that the Maltese Islands as a whole, not only the Garrison therein, represent a not inconsiderable drain on British reserves of foreign currency. This appears even more strongly from a consideration of the classes of imported merchandise. Imports of Food, Drink and Tobacco (F.D.T.), totalling £7,800,000 were of almost precisely the same value as imports of Manufactures. The Mediterranean Maltese islands naturally depend on imports for main supplies of dairy products. Almost all the £161,188 expended on butter went to the Commonwealth but nearly half of the value of cheese imports - £305,000 in all - came from Italy. Another £161,000 went on eggs, and £785,000 on processed milk. Alarmingly enough however even Mediterranean products were and still are imported in surprisingly large quantities, £130,000 on edible oils, and £353,000 on vegetables, one-third of the latter represented by tomato preparations, are such large sums as to need justification of local inability to produce these commodities. When one notes that, in a Class distinct from the F.D.T. group, a further £1,241,000 was expended on livestock fodder, then one begins to wonder whether agriculture is practised at all in the Islands. There seems no doubt that many of the fresh or processed food and fodder commodities now imported could properly be produced in Malta by better resource use. There remains one difficulty. It is probable that the Knights subsisted mainly on imported products of higher quality than those produced locally. Since 1800, and this is a sign of rising living standards, social emulation has been able to spread this effect through the greater part of the population. The trade figures for later years merely confirm what may be observed directly that most Maltese for one reason or another will deliberately choose foreign rather than domestic produce where possible. In 1956 this led to the consideration of quasi-sumptuary regulations; to us it is a factor in the social environment quite as important as many elements in the physical environment.

652 If we turn to a consideration of the Internal Revenue Account we see how
434 deep-rooted and extensive are those characteristics of the economy already noted.

Thus of Government Revenue approximately one-third was derived directly from outside Malta (C) as a result of activities originating outside the control of the Maltese people. Of the remaining two-thirds (D), the largest part was *indirectly* also so obtained from activities dependent on expenditure by non-Maltese, in that it came from taxation of profits earned by mercantile services to the Garrison, taxation of wages, salaries and industrial profits earned by other services rendered to the Imperial power, and lastly from Customs levies on the goods paid for by external income. This revenue (D) was not in itself in any case large enough to cover ordinary expenditure (A) let alone supply capital for public investment.

434 Many other questions could be raised, e.g. is not the scale of Government
471 expenditure on Administration rather large relative to total revenue?; but we must content ourselves with one last reflection. The paucity of material resources in the Islands is such that capital investment for raising production can only be applied to agriculture and to improving the productivity of labour in those industrial or commercial services called into being by the locational

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Table 33. Internal revenue account 1953-54.

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A. Ordinary Expenditure.		
(i) Maltese Government Administration	£1.667 millions	£1.958 millions
Public Debt and Pensions	.291 "	
(ii) Medical, Health, Commodity Subsidies and other Social Expenditure	2.625 "	
(iii) Public Works and Agriculture	.559 "	
	£5.142 "	
(iv) LESS Revenue Profit on self balancing services	0.441 "	
Net Ordinary Expenditure	£4.701 "	
B. Special Expenditure.		
(i) Emigration	£0.143 millions	
(ii) Colonial Development Works and Services	0.460 "	
(iii) Imperial Government Expenditure - Administration, etc.	0.292 "	
(iv) Works Extraordinary	0.268 "	
Total Special Expenditure	£1.163 "	
Grand Total Expenditure	£5.864 "	
C. Revenue Directly Derived From Outside Malta.		
(i) Imperial Government Grants for Special Expenditure	£0.814 millions	
(ii) Estimated External Revenue from:-		
Customs and Excise	£1 million	£1.180 millions
Lotteries	£0.180 millions	
	£1.994 "	
D. Revenue Directly Derived From Inside Malta.		
(i) Customs and Excise (see C (ii))	£2.317 millions	
(ii) Income Tax, Succession and Donation Duties	0.662 "	
(iii) Lotteries (estimated £400,000), Note Fund, Savings Bank, etc.	1.491 "	
	£4.370 "	
Grand Total Revenue	£6.364 "	

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value of the Islands. In the sector of welfare economics the field for investment is in a sense limitless including as it does all the elements of water-supply, public health, education and dietetics. In this sector, capital can only come either from a relatively benevolent foreign power - and here lies the case for continued Maltese existence as a dependency and also the case for 'integration' with the United Kingdom - or hypothetically come from a vastly increased economic turnover within Malta. This immediately leads one back to the field of production economics. If, fundamentally, the value of the Islands for the attraction of capital lies in their location, then any decline in such attractiveness (as recently evinced

434 471 by British actions) *ipso facto* suggests a decline in that value. Until recently, as suggested elsewhere, domination by a new metropolitan power has implied domination by a more enterprising and a wealthier power. The inevitability of this process has become held so strongly almost as an article of faith by some Maltese that to suggest that it may now come to an end may be regarded as heretical. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that Malta's locational value has now become so marginally attractive as to render even more economically dubious foreign investment in the limited and difficult sectors available for its application. Without such foreign capital in large quantities, revenue will neither be available for investment in production and welfare nor for continuing existence. The internal as well as external economic demands of the situation are therefore for the seizing of all opportunities to attract investment rather than for historically impossible attempts to preserve an economic *status quo*. Further, it is obviously essential that agriculture as the only sector in which capital and labour can be deployed on domestically controlled natural resources, must be transformed from hitherto the most neglected into one of the most important and potentially fruitful elements in the Islands' life.

Finally, in this general section, a consideration of the National Product serves to put the economic situation into perspective. The salient facts are these:-

433 434

Table 33. National product 1954.

A. Wages and Salaries.	
(i) Service Departments	£6.7 millions
(ii) Administration	3.5 "
(iii) Other	5.8 "
	£16.0 "
B. Incomes.	
(i) Farmers and Fishermen	£1.3 millions
(ii) Government Property	1.2 "
(iii) Private Receipts of Interest and Rents	2.8 "
	£5.3 "
C. Profits of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	£6.0 millions
D. Net Indirect Taxation	£3.6 millions
Grand Total	£30.9 millions

Balogh and Sears in their interim report on economic conditions (14) computed that the total value of goods and services bought in 1954 amounted to over £51,400,000. Of this some £20,500,000 represented imports, leaving the total given in Table 33. More recent material, e.g. the 1955 Census of Production (15) which became available in 1958, would suggest the need for slight emendation of some items, particularly item C in Table 33. Further upward amendment to item B (i) is needed to cover that considerable part of agricultural production which, as field observation shows, never appears in mensurable channels. Balogh's conclusion however remains absolutely valid (16): 'In the last resort nearly all the income and employment on the Island(s) are derived from the U.K. Government'. He does however go on to say that (17): 'This unbalanced

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate help to the Islands in their present effort' find alternative sources of employment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification, while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate, Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity. The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel. Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased. The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in 'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction. In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees, most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil 'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled, particularly in the building industry (18).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population - 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed elsewhere but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agriculture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs.

REFERENCES

1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1938. Malta. 1938.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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the heads of Wied Babu (219) and in the Santi Gap (57) in Malta and in the West-Central Region of Gozo. In such topographical pockets, the building of soil trap walls is sometimes extended to form walled orchards as at id-Dahla and the head of the Wied ir Rum.

When we turn to observation and consideration of cultivation reactions to minor topographical and geological features we are further reminded of the special relationship between tillage techniques and the soil. Bearing in mind the points noted in Chapter III B and the picture we have drawn of the physical and social environment in which Maltese agriculture has developed, we are forced to the following conclusions.

The economic necessity for the utilisation of virtually all land resources and indeed for creating some of them, together with the physical need for basing all farming practice on soil and water conservation techniques, have until very recently rigidly controlled the details of tillage. Fragmentation, a perfectly rational response to circumstances, has intensified the physical sub-division of the land. The majority of fields in Malta and Gozo cannot easily be worked except by small highly mobile implements. In the conditions described above and in a climate which makes possible a great crop range, implements must also be capable of a great diversity of application. In order to keep up the terraces, work the fields and succeed in maintaining and even increasing the area of cultivable land, the cultivator has been committed to unremitting and arduous manual labour. His basic tool is the hoe, his natural development of it the non-soil-inverting *ard*-plough.

The recent removal, by the creation of new real and psychological opportunities, of part of the pressure that has long kept the farmers on the land has altered the traditional picture. Cartographic evidence of the 25-inch to the mile maps, surveyed in the 1880's and 1890's, shows that since that time little waste-land has been improved. The only known large-scale change in field patterns occurred during and after World War II in the central lowlands of Gozo as the result of airfield construction, but holding fragmentation has re-imposed sub-division on the landscape. Occupational statistics and case-study evidence all point the same way. As a result of this release of pressure, land neglect and abandonment are now irregularly removing the extremes of control of cultivation. Even more important, Malta has been affected by the new evaluation of tillage techniques which has characterised so much of the world. Under modern conditions, most improvements in cultivation techniques have been deliberately designed for the increase of productivity on the better and more easily worked lands. Rural depopulation of the hard lands which gained such momentum in nineteenth-century Europe is an inevitable concomitant of such increases in productivity and of the accompanying demands for higher standards of material consumption and an 'easier' life. In countries such as Malta, this means that a new equilibrium has to be established, existing and new techniques and implements have to be evaluated against established environments and actual or potential changes.

Three examples from case-studies (Key letters refer to Chapter X E) can illustrate what this means in farmer's terms. The first (A, p. 337) concerns a part-time farmer in Region A II, Mellieha Isthmus. This cultivator corroborated other evidence that in the nineteenth century it was still common for 'dry' fields to be created out of wasteland. More recently it has only been economic to make irrigable fields. The method is virtually the same in either case. First a terrace is cut into the rock slope, and the stone rubble is then built outwards in 'made-ground' and held in place by a terrace wall. Soil, usually now from a building site, is then laid over the rock platform and stone infill. Such a field 2 *twiza* in extent in 1951 cost £150 in construction (almost entirely in labour) plus £50 for the transport of 20 truckloads of soil. The gross receipts from this irrigated *campo artificiale* were £40 and £38 respectively for the first two seasons. A generation previously, such work would have been done more slowly by full-time farmers who themselves would have garnered the soil, but the market for irrigated vegetables would have been smaller. A generation hence, a cultivator will add to the costs of construction all the at present uncosted labour expended

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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D. Economic and Commercial Characteristics

In 1956, Surridge (1) in a note on Co-operatives in Malta, endorsed the F.A.O. statement (2) that 'real progress in the co-operative field will be impossible so long as the essential connection between credit facilities and marketing remains unrecognised'.

Subsistence farming is not now practised in the Maltese Islands and all farmers are to a large extent controlled in their productive use of land by commercial markets. The application of capital and techniques to the land is much more than the simple provision of cheap credit.

Environmental conditions necessitate the continued and intensive use of hand labour in order to maintain in existence the artificially made fields and in order to utilise the maximum area of land. Therefore large-scale capital application is restricted to provision of better water supplies and similar public works projects. What is needed is the small scale use of capital in crops and livestock experimentation and for backing efforts in the export markets. Capital provision for land purchase should not be made until cultivators are less likely to indulge in speculative 'landgrabbing' which would result in greater problems of fragmentation, etc.

The amount of hidden capital in the countryside must be very considerable. Estimates that 80 per cent. of Malta's National Income is derived directly and indirectly from the Defence Departments cannot take into account all the gross real income in kind of the countryside - real income which never appears long enough to be measured. Present expenditure on improved equipment and better breeds of plant and livestock as well as spectacular efforts such as the building of Mosta Church go to show that, given incentive and faith in the future, the rural communities can and will deploy some considerable hidden reserves. Before any such capital will be applied, some compulsive force must operate on the farmers.

For centuries past, production has been largely for subsistence except for cotton and cumin seed, both exported to other Mediterranean countries. From the sixteenth century onward, urbanisation slowly created a significantly sized indigenous market and, with the disappearance of the trade in cotton during the nineteenth century, the home market became completely dominant. Some 70 years ago, potatoes became profitably exportable, while at the same time rapid urbanisation increased the size and wealth of the home market. As already noted, the domestic market for milk is of very recent origin, while export possibilities for crops other than potatoes are now slowly being realised.

Until World War II, marketing of produce was organised almost entirely by licensed but uncontrolled middlemen - the *pitkali* - who collected or accepted small lots, offered them for sale to wholesalers or retailers, and then paid the farmers the negotiated price less commission. (The details of organisation are well described in the 1911-12 Royal Commission Report (3).) During World War II, 'the evolution of Internal Marketing made a great stride forward during the exigency... (4)'. This statement really means that controls were imposed on prices and marketing, controls which have basically survived to the present day. As the economics of production have become more confused with welfare policies, so the complexity of the situation has increased. All that we can do here is to sketch and illustrate the nature of this complexity.

The first factor to be reckoned with is that cultivators in no case know their costs of production. They have some general idea of whether a proposed price is unprofitable or not but this is not necessarily trustworthy. Secondly, while the fodder crops are not very perishable, the vegetable and fruit products which find their way out of the rural economy into Maltese markets are extremely so. While the market for such produce in Malta is not a very selective one, this on the whole has the effect of encouraging the sending to market of produce which is very liable to deterioration. In the markets, therefore, any produce surplus to clear requirements is virtually valueless. One complaint concerning the

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234 *J* - With a holding of over 42 *tmien* in 26 plots, half of which is rough grazing, and with 2 *tmien* permanently under potatoes, this farmer is able to supply most of the fodder requirements of his 46 goats and kids, and 100 head of poultry as well as a few cows, sheep and horses. This land costs some £23 in rent. This farmer obtains a gross profit (receipts minus fodder costs) of some 14s. a day from sales of milk. At this level he, like many of his type, is aware of the crude economics of the situation and of the need for relating feed to livestock needs. Even so, readiness to experiment is confined to those sectors in which the farmer is able to base production on traditional knowledge and his own and family's uncosted labour. In Gozo, remoteness from the main milk market in the Maltese conurbation strengthens the general herdsmen's reluctance to use relatively novel milch cows.

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Farmers who are mainly producers of cows' milk are, *ipso facto*, economically more sophisticated than goat herdsmen. Even so, the range is considerable, particularly great since most of these 'dairy farmers' also rely on arable farming to a varying extent. Thus case-study:-

K - is of a working partnership of two friends who keep some 40 cattle in Regions C XX b, Luqa-Zejtun and C XX e, Delimara. Untypically, they hold some 100 *tmien* of land, much of which is wasteland grazing on Defence Department land. The complexity and obscurity of their claims to much of the land reflects the rather unorganised pattern of production. Since they have land, they grow the standard cash-crop - potatoes - and vegetable crops for domestic consumption. About two-thirds of the cultivated area is given over to fodder crops - wheat, barley and sullá. This, together with a truck-load of prickly pear each day and cake and beans fed to capacity, suffices for the cows. The cultivators' answer when questioned on production costs is *'Min jaf?'* - 'who knows?', and they are not at all convinced of the need for balanced feeding. Cows are served altogether at the season which would be suitable for goats so that production varies seasonally with a spring and early summer maximum of c. 50 gallons daily and a midwinter negligible minimum. This of course is in inverse relation to the Mediterranean plant growing season and, as noted earlier, accentuates the seasonal fluctuation normal with goats' milk. Significantly, the families drink goats' milk in preference to cows' although some of the former is sold. Such farmers, although operating on a fairly large scale, are almost perpetually in debt and rarely have much capital.

By contrast one may find the type of producer already referred to on p. 329, case-study:-

L - This farmer, although with relatively few cattle, is an efficient and highly developed type by Maltese standards. The half of his cultivated land devoted to fodder crops supplies half of the fodder requirements of the 13 stall-fed cattle. The remainder, including beans and cakes, costs him some £1,000 per annum. Receipts from milk sales come to c. £1,350 per annum. This farmer, becoming interested in the possibilities of cattle-breeding, puts most of his not inconsiderable capital directly into the livestock. Arable crops, particularly potatoes and onions, bring in good gross returns but, as with fodder production, are becoming increasingly regarded as uneconomic. This in spite of the fact that the only financial records kept relate to milk sales, fodder purchases, land transactions and buildings. With farmers such as this, one finds an irrational blend of conservatism and a readiness to try new ideas such as artificial insemination and balanced feeding.

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234 6. MIXED FARMERS
241 Lastly there are the mixed farmers, which in Malta and Gozo usually means farmers who for one reason or another have neither become very reliant on the 'milk-cheque' nor are able to grow irrigated or specialised crops. These farmers, usually middle-aged, have little capital, a modicum of enterprise and reasonable dry-land but the lack of agricultural interest shown by their sons discourages much development. They tend to be opportunist in outlook and fairly

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 369 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 369 [361] [396] During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

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[161] [396] [434] [712] [707] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 241 433 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

[Village of Mgarr]

By The mid-Thirties Mgarr had 13.

175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
[365] levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[491] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity of the village destroying two houses and killing three people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mgarr prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed not far away. Mgarr heard about the war and experienced as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
[241] control of production put the farmers of Mgarr in as strong a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mgarr had acquired the normal characteristics of community life of village Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its
[546] theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of the countryside, further swell the range of goods available on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
[494] Mgarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[178] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs each week from Mosta, the parent village.

194 On account of its recent development, Mgarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement in the village - though it is notably active there, and of the Confraternities which are numerous in the older Settlements Mgarr has only Three (Appendix 4).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job [461] which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

407 (ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
461 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
464 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

429 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far [221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The [434] present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 241 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

● 434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
[234] but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
234 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
654 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
[234] turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the maximum (Section 2).

178 Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
511 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
434 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned. These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital
[464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

178
434 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
[471] his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
434 one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc., (Section 2).

178 434 There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

426 (a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. [451] This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during
234 nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the
progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to
434 the days when his father sold milk from door to door in
the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present
426 poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he
fully realizes that without the present Government guaran-
[654] tee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all.
He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments; nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt
178 position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear
234 that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk
434 price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent
654 on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and
[212] ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate (Case IX).

178 (c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI)
434 keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working.
454 The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from
234 which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement,
654 household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the
[451] provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met. This farmer admits to having been able to save more than £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread". He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 (d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps
434 accounts of the working of his farm. His second employ-
241 ment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few
weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small
[511] amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 because he has always been used to doing it and one which
434 enables him to provide many of the food items needed by
241 the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives
241 both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of
426 independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important
511 factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned [451] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

457 511 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and [593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

[454] At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus [511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

434 454 458 His income derives largely from the sale of fruit (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable. In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far hence. [181] This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation and inertia of the traditional peasant

and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 611 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10).

175 434 369 Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6¾d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

175 722 511 454 During the war years the farmer had been able to strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented extent. The high prices which he could command left him with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and dimppearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent [369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a [426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

434 511 171 [369] Today the farmer's standard of living compares unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but is notably higher than that of other farming communities in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer. [434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 434 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 434 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747 648

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

735 147 434 848 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison. The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth and assets against family size. Thus a household of four persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 735 434 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[35]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[36]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.9:

369 735 511 162 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mgarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

TABLE 3

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27
1948-49	776,000	"			
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57 (1956)

A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

178 (3) On account of those same physical limitations
241 mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all
407 labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-
464 optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which
434 the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures
511 especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the
434 fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

(a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

(c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

(6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

159 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of his land holding:-
311

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittieh and dulieh)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

*159 Livestock
422 Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve
231 acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

*159 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to
234 the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo
•434 finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home
234 production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particu-
*159 larly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

*159 512 794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his 592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they 178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to *159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

423 427 A. Land.

[311] - Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrens districts. Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅛	⅛	⅛
Vines	⅛	⅛	⅛
Prickly pear	⅛	⅛	⅛
Fodders	8½	10½	14½
Vegetables	8½	6½	2½
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 231 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 401 D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.

[427] - Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.

[456] - No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.

[434] - Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 433

3	rotal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8	" cake	3s. 6d.
5	" sulla	1s. 4d.
8	" beans	5s. 0d.
1	basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½	" straw	6d
		12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48	rotal bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16	" barley	6s. 0d.
4	bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)		5s. 0d.
		£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159 234 G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
(a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
(b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
(c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159 241 (ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow
(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor ploughing.
4th yr: Fallow

*159 43 829 H. General.

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
[454] - At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159 234 CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 234 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage [246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners of often unsuitable space.

*159 241 433 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 ●434 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant [427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Guzepp. Rents for 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land (generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer, whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common [241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more [433] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli) because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately avoided.

*159 438 443 Guzepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid this by selling some of his produce directly in the local village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

X159 511 829 178 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for entertainment is practically nil and his children are not yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which one foresees they will do. Guzepp is very anxious to enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that Guzepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

[P 86]

*159 443 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

C. Livestock.

[231]
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tonna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159
[245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing
[461] the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

*159
829
241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159
[434]
[234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
[511] - Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends
[454] little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious
[241] to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below
[511] that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 23 [425] His father was a [illegible] with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

*159 443 484 521 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

*159 423 **A. Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

*159 241 311 [434] **B. Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under forafa (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

*159 231 **C. Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

*159 [423] [454] [412] [407] **D. Capital.**

- Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's
- Freehold village house.
- According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

*159 464 [427] **E. Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15.
- Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

*159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week

*159 241 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annually
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prevents the employment of the normal four-year rotation

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys culls seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 159 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 414 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpannija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsman. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons [432] or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin [434] strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk *159 461 241 1465 to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

159 423 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tnien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tnien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

159 241 311 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

159 231 234 C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.30 years).

D. Capital.

159 423 (i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

511 426 (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. 21 food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

159 464 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

159 43 234 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

159 23 G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

159 434 H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 [712] [551] [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 182 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[27] food gifts.

*159 464 E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433] F. Production and Sales.

(v.Table 5)
(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p.a.
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

TABLE 9.

(Case V : Accounts)

* 159 434 435

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtal[1]	Shillings per rotal	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn[2]	113	56	2 -18-	
5. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	49	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 8- 5
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	49	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
15. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10 - 9- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
15. 3.57	B	Beans	160	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	365	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	278	48	6 - 4- 9	
						15
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	45	6 - 6- 9	
						15
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake	266½	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn[2]	95	58	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato[3]	205		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323½	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					15
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	363½	64	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271½	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	58	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261½	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	57	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						15
5. 7.57	A	Beans	338	50½	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	280½	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
13. 7.57	A					15
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 6	
		Cake	298½	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	57	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
8. 8.57	A	Dari seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	288	44	6 - 8- 3	
14. 8.57	A					17
18. 8.57	B					15
23. 8.57	A	Beans	300½	51	10 - 3- 9	
					£353 - 1- 8	£273 -14- 0

[426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.8d

(1 - see Appendix 5; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - potata tax-xitwa)

800 authorities each year.

*159 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 15/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in [454] for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
246 lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.
427
- Has 3 timen, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

159 B. Utilisation.
241
- The 3 timen field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

159
- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

234

159 D. Capital.
454
- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

464
- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

434
- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.

234
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

G. Husbandry.

159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is
231 said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

427
- Rents 7 timen of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jun. to Aug.

311
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 3 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.

435
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hamel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.

434
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

H. General.

159
- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.

156
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Inglizi type As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Inglizi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[423]

(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[454] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

[407] - small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

*159 E. Labour.

464 - No permanent hired labour.

- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.

- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 - Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U.

● 434 Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at

435 5/6 to 6/- per gall.

- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.

- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tonna.

- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, [433] involved a loss.

- Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

*159 G. Husbandry.

231 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232] - Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 H. General.

234 The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed

829 milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect [426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held [593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit.....	£340	-	£340
Grapes.....	49	£ 8	57
Sulla.....	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.....	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.....	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

159 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital
434 in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent.
454 Ġanri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġanri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġanri contributes to the cost of fuel.

159 Expenses within the household are difficult to deter-
511 mine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from
262 the fields worked by Ġanri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġanri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġanri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring
354 the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġanri).

159 The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural
262 Malta. In some details this differs from that found among
[369] urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet
[785] on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

159 Ġamri and farming
829 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
241 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
[212] limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
[191] the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
[891] English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
all". English language is synonomous with education in his
thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
[922] unhappily. He himself has "little faith in the Government
- which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
[454] for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
[929] up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
435 cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[178] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[231] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
into an apparently more profitable line.

159 His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
829 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
794 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
18 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
178 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he be-
lieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
159 approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
829 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
18 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
178 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

*159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on Ô's personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tonna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tonna.
- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tonna.

E. Labour.

*159 464 - Ô's 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  (a) Joint holding worked by partners and Ô's nephew.
  (b) Land held by Ô, deriving from wife's family, farmed by Ô and eldest nephew.
  (c) Land held by Ô's brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461 - A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On Ô's own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tonna.

*159 434 241 F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From Ô's land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Ô's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434 - This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tonna, fruit £28 per tonna,

159 241 434 433

tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159 241 433 (2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of O's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159 241 G. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
- (a) on good land
  - 1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
  - 2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
  - 3rd Yr: Sulla.
  - 4th Yr: Wheat.
- (b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
- (c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
- (d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:
- (a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
- (b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
- (c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
- (d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
- (e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-
- (a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
- (b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
- (c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
- (d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[Text continues on P.124]

*159 29 31 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-[406] [343] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered [134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 241 433 134 829 [464] Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a [474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 178 241 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to [426] [654] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

000

was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

* CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)
159

Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
[727] War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
* 159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
● 434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space
[432] once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

* 159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 [272]

(i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 241 [435] [433]

(ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.
- Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433]

(iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept.	(a)	Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec.	(b)	Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan.	(c)	Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April	(d)	Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug.	(e)	Summer fallow.
Sept.-April	(f)	Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug.	(g)	Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May	(h)	Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug.	(i)	Fallow.
Sept.-April	(j)	Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as Zoffa and ginglin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232

(iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451

(i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorża tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 159 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 198 46 *[159] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic [369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri- [162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using
[251] many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 43 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.

(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 242 [463] [465] An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 434 [45] Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely pro- [454] carious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve.

PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.

*159 157 829 CASE XIV : Ġanni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ġanni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
477 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
499 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XI?

[178] This farmer (working 35 tmian, including seven irrigable) was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years. Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
407 contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
241 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
434 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they them-
selves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
[178] for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by local vintners).

CASE XXI

159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
256 occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
241 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
407 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
472 contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
[477] the sole such operator in his village and business grew. However in the present decade competition from new tractor operators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
441 not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
472 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
407 His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but those were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for
[191] local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was introduced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo, especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island some three or four are normally unused in the season. This agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957 plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce new implements. His father was the first to import motor pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultivator in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of harvesting machines, but the very limited success of the first ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be collected for animal fodder.

28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):

Family of 3 or 4 persons			....	maximum income		- £5
" " 5 to 7	"		....	"	"	- £5 8s
" " 8 " 10	"		....	"	"	- £5 15s
" " 11 " 13	"		....	"	"	- £6 1s
" " 14 " 16	"		....	"	"	- £6 6s
" " 17 or 18	"		....	"	"	- £6 10c

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

35. (B/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanċjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Haesler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dowdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sighen and Xejliet : v. Appendix 5.